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## *The Shape of Things*

FASCIST FRANCE IS NOT FRANCE; IT IS A miserable rump of a state existing under the absolute control of Nazi Germany. In this fact lies the only comfort that can be drawn from the events of these bitter days. The government of fascist France has never had the sanction of the people or their elected representatives; it usurped power in the hour of surrender and it exercises the functions of government at the will of the German dictator. The new constitution, emerging from the cunning mind of the fascist Laval, expresses the final degradation of slavery. Only outlines have appeared in the press, as this is written, but it is enough to know that France is to be governed by a dictatorship, probably with Pétain as its titular head, and that the parliament will be superseded by two "advisory" chambers, an upper house appointed by the government and a lower house composed of representatives of business and professional groups. Trade unions "in the old sense" and political parties are to be abolished. Before this paragraph appears, the old French Assembly will have passed on this "constitutional reform." But its function is purely decorative, and the outcome has been announced in advance. If sufficient support for the new instrument of tyranny should be lacking in the Assembly, "a legal solution," according to the D. N. B., the official German news agency, "has already been provided to make delay impossible." The formulas for such "legal" solutions are well known in Nazi Germany and can be applied by Hitler's French agents without serious modification. France as an independent political entity has disappeared—at least for the duration.

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BUT THE NEW FRANCE CAN DO GREAT HARM to the cause of freedom. Because its leaders act and speak as if they exercised genuine authority, they are able to do Hitler's work as his acknowledged agents could never do it. The British attack on the French fleet at Oran was a desperate act of self-defense obviously justified by Pétain's refusal to keep the nation's promise to turn over

the fleet to Britain in case of surrender. It was justified, but according to all reports it has caused deep resentment in France. The Pétain-Laval junta has denounced the "perfidy" of the British and has been able to exploit the tragic event effectively in the interest of its German bosses and its own reactionary and anti-British policy. The eloquent words of Churchill explaining the attack at Oran in all its painful aspects were unable to reach the ears of the French people, now cut off as completely as the Germans themselves from unexpurgated news. They may not know for years to come of the pledges and alternative offers which accompanied the British demands on the French naval commander at Oran.

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AND SO ENMITY BETWEEN THE FORMER Allies mounts. France has broken off diplomatic relations with Britain, and Britain has announced the necessity of blockading France. The Germans and Italians have permitted the French government to rearm its air squadrons, and French aviators are bombing British warships in Gibraltar harbor. Thus ends the alliance between the two greatest European democracies, an alliance which only a month ago seemed on the verge of becoming a permanent union. It has been smashed, not by the victorious arms of Germany, but by the collapse of French unity and fighting spirit. The causes of the collapse are discussed in two articles by Heinz Pol published in this week's issue of *The Nation* and the one before. The lesson contained in those articles should be studied and memorized by all Americans.

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BRITAIN'S REFUSAL TO CLOSE THE BURMA road has brought a sharp request from Japan that the decision be reconsidered. At the same time a Japanese army spokesman has made a violent protest over the arrest by United States marines of sixteen Japanese gendarmes in the American defense sector of Shanghai. A struggle over immediate Japanese policy has been under way between the "moderate" extremists represented by the Foreign Office and the fanatical patriotic societies. The disagreement has revolved chiefly around Foreign

Minister Arita's declaration of pan-Asiatic policy, While both groups agree on the desirability of expansion in eastern Asia and the South Seas, the military clique wants a clear declaration of alignment with the "new world order" of the Axis. The reply to Britain and the truculent protest over what was clearly a minor incident in Shanghai would seem to indicate that the extremists are gaining ground in spite of what should be strong deterrents. Tokyo knows that Britain has been in consultation with the United States as well as with the Dominions. Secretary Hull has made it clear that this country has not deviated from the policy laid down in the Nine-Power Treaty. An American embargo on essential war supplies would seriously cripple Japan in case British resistance were protracted. Moreover, the American fleet at Hawaii is in a position to cut off the Japanese from their home base if they venture to attack the Netherlands East Indies in search of supplies. The defense of Shanghai or of French Indo-China, on the other hand, presents great difficulties, and for the moment Japan may confine its attack to these two areas. Any such respite, however, would be temporary, for Japan has unmistakably declared its intention of ruling the Far East. Whether or not it retains its non-belligerent status with respect to the European war, its aims and aspirations link it irrevocably with the Axis.

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CASUALTIES IN MEXICO'S PRESIDENTIAL election stand at 47 killed and 300 injured as we go to press. This is serious enough, but it does not add up to the revolution that alarmists inside and outside Mexico have been predicting. Crucial days, however, are still ahead. Both Camacho and Almazán claim an overwhelming victory. The votes cast for the presidential candidates will not be officially counted until Congress meets on September 1. It has been widely predicted that Almazán's procedure will be to summon his own Congress at Monterrey. Then if the victory is awarded to Camacho, President Cárdenas will be faced with the necessity of dissolving the opposition body, by force if necessary. On the day the people went to the polls Cárdenas repeated once more his pledge of a free and honest election; but he is in the peculiar position of being able to convince the opposition of his sincerity only by declaring their candidate victorious, since Almazán would presumably not accept any other result as valid. As a matter of fact other elements will play a greater part in Almazán's decision than will the election figures. As the European situation worsens and the United States becomes more deeply involved, the likelihood of American support for a coup against the Cárdenas regime grows smaller. Washington is obviously anxious to hasten a settlement of the oil controversy. It may be expected also to discourage support by American interests of any attempt to let loose civil war in Mexico.

INEVITABLY THE EFFECTS OF THE NAZI hurricane have aroused this country to a demand for adequate military protection. Just as inevitably that demand has speeded the pulse and gladdened the eye of every brass hat in America. Early in June we predicted that the Roosevelt Administration would be compelled to sponsor some sort of plan for universal training. The President's proposal for a triple program of compulsory military, technical, and vocational training followed shortly after, with Sidney Hillman selected as the man to draw up the detailed plan. Scarcely had the anti-New Dealers spat out the word "regimentation" than Senator Burke of Nebraska followed through with a military-training bill which would compel registration of 40,000,000 Americans between the ages of eighteen and sixty-five. At the same time the army and navy are hard at work on schemes of their own, and Raymond J. Kelly, national commander of the American Legion, is racing ahead with a plan to raise the huge "unofficial" army under Legion auspices, with armed "security units" in every community. How to be prepared and still avoid the pitfalls of militarism is a question posed by the times. Straight military conscription of the kind proposed by Senator Burke is not the answer. It did not save France. If we must defend ourselves by force it is clear that our hope lies in a people's army, democratically controlled and democratic in spirit. The Administration's program, with its emphasis on vocational as well as military training, points in this direction. Liberals would do well to sacrifice enough of their pacifist purity to prevent that program from being ground beneath the heels of the Burkes, the Kellys, and the professional militarists.

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POSTMASTER GENERAL FARLEY'S REPORT OF his "entirely satisfactory" talk at Hyde Park indicates that at least Franklin D. Roosevelt and Mr. Farley know what is going to happen at Chicago. Although the die apparently has already been cast, arguments are still being feverishly urged against the Roosevelt candidacy by anti-third-term liberals. Most ingenious of these is the proposition worked out by Walter Lippmann, which runs like this: If the Republicans had chosen a Dewey or a Taft, it would have been mandatory for the Democrats to draft Roosevelt as "the only available candidate who understands the world we are living in." But the Republicans did the smart thing; they nominated Wendell Willkie. A third term, the argument continues, is justified only when "the vital interests of the nation are at stake." Obviously they are not at stake with a Willkie prepared to step into the White House. Hence Roosevelt owes it to the country to retire. The lucid Lippmann mind seems to us to have slipped a cog or two. Willkie's grasp of foreign affairs could be many notches above that of a local racket-buster and still be no match for

Adolf Hitler. Again assuming the grasp, Mr. Willkie's big-business background does not offer the best vantage-point either for carrying on a fight against fascism or for dealing with a Hitlerized Europe in the event of a British collapse; Herbert Hoover also understands what is going on. But even granting an identity of foreign policy between Roosevelt and Willkie, there is the little matter of domestic policy. Or does Mr. Lippmann believe that as long as the country arms to the teeth against Nazi Germany, American liberals will have nothing to worry about?

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CONFIRMATION OF STIMSON AND KNOX FOR their respective Cabinet posts will doubtless have been voted before this issue reaches our readers. The isolationist opposition in Senate committees fell considerably short of expectation. Colonel Stimson was approved by the Military Affairs Committee by a vote of 14 to 3, while Colonel Knox gained the approval of the Naval Affairs Committee by a vote of 9 to 5. Although the isolationists, as anticipated, centered their attack principally on Knox, the hearings brought out that he was much the more cautious of the two in his attitude toward aid for Great Britain. Stimson realistically declared himself in favor of all aid short of war as a means of bolstering the defenses of the United States. Among these short-of-war measures he would include the use of the United States navy to convoy American supply ships to Europe and the opening of American ports and naval bases to the British fleet. Although favoring civilian aid to the Allies, Knox opposed both proposals on the ground that such conduct "would mean war." Mr. Stimson doubtless understands the risks of active assistance to Great Britain and is well acquainted with the legal difficulties involved in the type of aid which he suggests. But more clearly than anyone else in public life he has recognized the danger to our security that will arise if Britain falls and aggression remains unchecked. We only wish that this recognition were more widespread.

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THE TIN HORNS OF FASCISM BLOW LOUDER in the air of publicity, acquittals, and short jail sentences. Joseph McWilliams is boasting that his conviction for making anti-Semitic remarks at a street meeting was just what he wanted. "I was in that court putting on a show," he said. The membership of the Christian Front, we understand, is booming since the acquittal of nine of the defendants in the Brooklyn conspiracy trial. But the prosecution of aspiring terrorists and dictators for even minor infractions of the law is an important part of the defense of our institutions, especially since political criminals are more than likely to go in for ordinary crimes as well—witness Fritz Kuhn, who has been hap-

pily relegated for some time at least to the silence of Sing Sing. Such prosecutions, however, must be intelligently handled. In the case of the Christian Front it appears that the charge of conspiracy to overthrow the government was too drastic to be supported by the evidence—though the acquittal of nine defendants on all charges should be considered and investigated in the light of the fact that Father Brophy, one of the Christian Front's most eloquent spokesmen, has boasted publicly that the forewoman of the jury in the Brooklyn trial is his cousin. The arrest and conviction of McWilliams, especially if it is followed by other arrests and convictions on the same charge, are all to the good, in spite of his blustering.

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LIFE MUST GO ON, WE SUPPOSE, EVEN IN defeated France, but it has been going on a little too glibly in Kathleen Cannell's dispatches from Paris to the *New York Times* (Delayed; via Berlin). On June 29 she revealed that the French dressmakers plan to return to Paris from their exile in Biarritz and present their August collections as usual. The sparrows in the Tuileries, wrote Miss Cannell, "miss their jolly little namesakes, the *moineaux*, as Paris affectionately calls her *minidettes*." She also noted rather proudly that "the

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Paris couture will have set a record—of not having missed a single season Paris fashion opening because of this war." Miss Cannell is obviously looking forward to the openings. We too. We're curious to see what a well-oppressed people will wear.

## Needed—an American League of Nations

BY FRED KIRCHWEY

AT HAVANA, less than two weeks from now, the independent nations of the American continents will confront the problem of adjusting their highly competitive economies and their nationalistic attitudes to a new world situation. Today they face in cold reality what has for years loomed as a threatening possibility. Europe, to the edge of the Continent, has been bombed or terrorized into unity under fascist control. Even if Britain holds out, the hope of an actual victory over Hitler seems diminishing. It hangs on such huge uncertainties as Russia's future moves and the ability and willingness of the United States to throw ever-increasing material help into the anti-fascist balance.

Meanwhile, the process of coordinating the battered Continent is being hastened. Rumania has announced its adhesion to the Axis and has expelled British experts and business men. It is constructing a full-fledged one-party dictatorship and anti-Semitic laws. France is being led through a valley of shadows toward a fascist regime; French food is being rationed according to Nazi orders; French bombers have attacked Gibraltar. Holland is bending under the weight of German threats; the Nazi military commander has charged the population with "disloyalty toward the German occupation" and forbidden any demonstration in favor of the Netherlands government. Sweden is negotiating a series of agreements with Germany and Denmark and Norway to coordinate its trade with that of its Nazi-controlled neighbors. Unless the lid blows off the Balkans, Hitler should be able to establish some sort of Continental order, however uneasy, before winter comes. It is with a fascist Europe that the Americas will have to deal. We have waked up to find the nightmare of the past years an ugly fact.

In Hitler's new Europe millions of people are going to be hungry next winter. That is certain, even today. If Great Britain is defeated, the Continent will become a clamorous market for all kinds of foodstuffs and many other sorts of goods. It will have little money, but the Nazis have long since learned to buy without money. The numerous variations of the barter system backed by powerful forms of political persuasion have supplied Germany with most of its necessities for years past. When

this system is extended over a whole continent it becomes a formidable economic threat.

The German government described as "pointless" Mr. Hull's announcement that the United States would not tolerate any transfer of territory in the Americas from one European power to another; the United States had no reason to assume that it intended to take over the American possessions of the conquered nations. But the German note went on to explain that the Monroe Doctrine was valid only if the Americas refrained from interfering with European affairs, and it assailed that doctrine as favoring certain powers above others. Mr. Hull's answer was very crisp. He said that the United States had no territorial designs on any nation and that the Monroe Doctrine established no domination by this country over the other nations of the hemisphere; it merely protected the Americas against threats of domination from abroad. And President Roosevelt reiterated Mr. Hull's warning in a statement given out a day or so later by Mr. Early:

But, for example, should a victorious Germany lay claim to territories of conquered nations in this hemisphere, we hold that the issue comes within the province of the Monroe Doctrine. We hold that it works in this way: The United States does not take over the islands or territorial possessions of the conquered nations, but it believes and holds the position that their disposition and administration should be decided among and by all of the American republics.

Meanwhile, American warships are cruising around the French West Indies. The British are reported to have established a blockade of Martinique to prevent a shipment of American-made planes from being carried to France; they have denied the rumor, but the United States clearly intends to supervise all belligerent activities in those waters.

In South America German plots multiply. All reports indicate that only quick action by the Uruguayan government, with help from Brazil, and the approach of a United States cruiser prevented a Nazi-backed coup in Montevideo. Edward Tomlinson has described in the *New York Herald Tribune* a plan to create a "New Germany" in territory to be carved out of Chile, Argentina, Uruguay, Bolivia, Paraguay, and part of Brazil. This scheme may still be in the fantasy stage, but in these days no fantasies dare be entirely discounted. Correspondents from Cuba report heavy Nazi propaganda directed chiefly against the United States. The proposed cartel plan for buying up and selling through a central agency all Latin American surpluses is attacked as a trick to establish "Yankee imperialism" in a more dangerous form.

This is the background against which the deliberations of the American nations at Havana must proceed: Europe united under fascist control, with Adolf Hitler, as the

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Nazis openly claim, its economic dictator and the world's greatest potential purchaser—on his own terms; the Americas, deeply penetrated by Nazi propaganda, sharply divided within themselves, but partially aware of the threat offered by a fascist Europe to their economic and political independence.

Effective defense can be achieved in only one way. The United States should propose at Havana the early creation of a *real* pan-American union—an American league of nations. Unlike the Geneva League of unhappy memory, the American league must assume certain sovereign powers. It must be intrusted with control over the foreign trade of both continents. This implies a revolutionary change from the competitive methods now in effect; but no halfway measure can succeed. Only a democratic totalitarianism—if such a phrase may be allowed—can resist the absolutist totalitarianism of the European continent. Planning is necessary, centralized control is necessary, and some sort of merchandising cartel, as suggested by the Administration, may be the best instrument through which to achieve both. But such a system must be worked out and administered collectively and not under the domination, however benevolent, of the United States. Otherwise it will not work at all.

The American league of nations must also control the military defense of the hemisphere. The United States will be in a position to supply most of the actual power, but it must not assume the role of self-appointed armed protector. The strength of the other nations must be increased, with United States funds if necessary, and the combined forces of the Americas must be put at the disposal of the league.

The preliminary steps toward an American league of nations have been taken at the various pan-American conferences, by the Neutrality Committee now in continuous session, and by the international neutrality patrol now guarding the vast "safety zone" in the waters around the American continents. The value of a more formal and permanent body, clothed with definite, if limited, sovereignty, lies partly in its effect on men's minds. Only a genuine surrender of national power offers promise of collective security. Failure to recognize this basic fact was the rock on which the Geneva League went aground. An American league must profit by the mistake of Europe—a mistake which proved fatal.

Perhaps such a scheme is chimerical. If so, our hope of defending this hemisphere is, by the same token, a poor one. If national ambitions and national jealousies and the power of interested commercial groups are strong enough to defeat genuine collective action, then Hitler will be able to pick off his victims one at a time, by economic weapons or political ones, or by military attack, as he has done in Europe. Havana will provide a test of the Americas' capacity for self-preservation.

## Munich in Wall Street

NOTHING succeeds like success, and domestic opinion is already beginning to show the effects of Nazi victories in Europe. A strong ferment is being set up for changes in home and foreign policies that may drastically affect our way of life. The changes portended demonstrate the fallacies of isolationism, the impossibility of sealing a hemisphere, and the problems which would be created for us by a final German victory. In the field of domestic politics, the new trend is toward the scuttling of labor and social legislation. In the sphere of foreign politics, it is toward economic appeasement of the Third Reich. In the first instance the drive is open, in the second it is still subterranean. Its strength should not be underestimated.

In calculating the potential force of these trends, one must keep in mind the attraction that dictatorship holds for large sections of the big-business class. Since the days of Alexander Hamilton this class has cared little for democracy, and has fought every extension of it. Economic changes in our own country have given it power by replacing the older, more individual forms of property and of business enterprise by huge corporations undemocratically operated and resentful of democratic political controls. The forces that have wiped out the small business man in so many areas of enterprise have more recently been reducing an ever larger proportion of our farmers to the status of tenants, many of them to that of homeless wanderers on the roads. Economic power is being concentrated in the hands of fewer and fewer people, and it will become ever harder to maintain this nation half-democratic, half-dictatorial. For the realm of business is a realm of dictatorship over masses of unorganized investor-owners with no real voice in the management of their property and over workers who precariously maintain a certain amount of organization.

So the cry rises from flabby gentlemen in Wall Street that the people of the democratic countries are getting "soft." Business men who resent the slightest supervision by government say we must have "discipline." The financial prophets who thought the world would come to an end if the budget was not balanced now praise the fascist dictatorships for "their better grasp of fundamental economic truth" (*Commercial and Financial Chronicle*, June 29, 1940). The entrepreneurs who set up a wail over a profit limit of 8 per cent on defense orders are telling each other that labor must stop being so "selfish" and must work longer hours for less money. Social reforms and labor standards dearly won are being steadily undermined by propaganda of this kind. The democracies of Europe were weakened by their failure to extend democracy to the economic realm. These gentry would also undermine democracy by reducing its value to

the masses—by threatening their security and lowering their living standards.

More and more this undercover propaganda for less democracy is accompanied by talk that we must "come to terms" with Hitler; Herbert Hoover, by his remarks in private and public, has shown himself to be one of the principal protagonists of this point of view. "Basic issue confronting U. S.," says a confidential service for business executives, in its elliptical fashion, "to appease or not to appease a victorious Hitler." The German armies now control an enormous market, and its bargaining power is commensurate with its consuming ability. *Berlin-Rome-Tokyo*, speaking for the German Foreign Office, has already warned the United States to play the game according to Nazi rules—or else. In 1937,

42 per cent of our copper exports, 37 per cent of our cotton exports, 27 per cent of our oil exports, 18 per cent of our tobacco and machine-tool exports, 15 per cent of our automobile exports went to the enlarged Third Reich and the countries now under its control. True, only a small portion of these exports went to Hitler's Greater Germany. Most of them were taken by Scandinavia, the Netherlands, and France. Significant and revealing is the fact that of the 42.7 per cent in wheat exports to the sections of Europe dominated by Germany, only 1.9 per cent went to the Greater Reich.

The service for business executives quoted above concludes that we must "expect a super-Munich for this country to come later." It is important to know what some influential people expect.

## He Will Run—He Won't Run

BY CHARLES MALCOLMSON

Washington, July 8

FOR the most part Washington is convinced that Wendell Willkie will get his wish. At the conclusion of the Philadelphia contest, the Republican nominee expressed a desire to "take on the champ," meaning Mr. Roosevelt. Today, one week before the Democratic convention in Chicago, a great majority of New Dealers and others believe Mr. Willkie will be afforded that opportunity.

There are exceptions, of course. A surprising number of Roosevelt partisans, both in and outside official life, think the President will not accept the nomination, which is sure to be offered him. These New Dealers fall into one of three classes: (1) those who are opposed to a third term for anybody, including F.D.R.; (2) those who favor another term for Mr. Roosevelt but fear he cannot overcome the third-term tradition and who therefore want him to retire while he's still the "champ"; (3) those who can't forget Mr. Roosevelt's penchant for dramatic gestures and therefore anticipate a "surprise" announcement from him on the eve of the convention.

Third-termers, on the other hand—and they are not all jobholders with selfish interests at heart—believe the President has waited so long to declare his intentions that the situation is now completely beyond his control. They think he will be nominated on the first ballot and drafted even in the face of a last-minute message announcing his retirement. In substantiation they point to a number of facts. The nomination of Willkie by the Republicans is one. What the New Dealers wanted most was a G. O. P. ticket of Taft and Dewey. They felt that almost any liberal Democrat—Hull, Jackson, Douglas, even Wheeler

—could lick a combination like that, and they were probably right. But the startling and politically unparalleled upsurge of Willkie has given them a fright; they now feel that only the President is a sure winner. And they are sure he knows it, too, and won't let them down.

Then there is the anticipated retirement of Jim Farley, an outspoken opponent of the third term. This lends color, if not substance, to the conclusion that Mr. Roosevelt is willing to be drafted. It's a cinch that genial Jim, who has very earnest Presidential ambitions of his own, would not bow out if he had any hope the President would not run. Stories of Farley's "retirement" from politics should not be taken too seriously, however. It is reported that he is working to keep his two closest cronies on the Democratic National Committee, Secretary Lawrence "Chip" Robert and Treasurer Oliver Quayle, neither of them third-termers, very much in the party picture.

Finally, third-termers are placing great stock in such straws as the comment of Harry Hopkins on Willkie's nomination. Hopkins remarked that in view of this development the President would have to deliver only two campaign speeches, "one in Maine and one in Vermont." Since the Secretary has been living at the White House for months and is closer to the President than anyone else in Washington, this is regarded as "proof" of Mr. Roosevelt's third-term availability.

Democrats of all kinds are finding some consolation in the currently tangled Republican situation. Reaction to the Willkie victory among Republicans here was decidedly mixed, though most of them appear to feel that the convention took the wisest course in selecting a

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"glamour boy" to compete with Mr. Roosevelt. But even on the surface all is not harmony. The Taft and Dewey partisans have taken the blow gracefully and have expressed willingness to pitch in and help. The Old Guard, including a lot of Middle Western Congressmen, aren't so tractable, however, and have been mumbling in their beards all week. This is particularly true of the Vandenberg and James supporters, some of whom set new indoor records for high dudgeon when they returned to their air-cooled offices in the Capitol.

As for the Western Republicans, they are placing their hopes principally upon McNary's public-utilities-ownership, isolationist, anti-reciprocal-trade record. This, incidentally, is a source of high glee in Democratic cloak-rooms, where McNary's unfortunate declaration on the eve of the balloting in Philadelphia—that the Republicans must carry the West to win but were sure to lose if Willkie was nominated—has all but been set to music.

It is true the Republican policy-makers will find it a ticklish task to splice the widely divergent Willkie and McNary views, but it should not prove too serious an obstacle. Nobody votes for a Vice-President anyway.

In an article on the Republican convention outlook several weeks ago I made some rather harsh comments on Mr. Willkie, basing them largely upon an address he had just delivered in Washington. There followed a number of letters from *Nation* readers, reasonably enough demanding substantiation. Unfortunately, Mr. Willkie's speech was off the record and not quotable. My suggestion of pre-fascism may have been excessive, although Willkie spoke glowingly of rule by the financial and industrial elect. I am still convinced that my interpretation was essentially justified, but under the circumstances I concede that it would have been better to exhibit more restraint.

## Who Betrayed France?

BY HEINZ POL

### II. The Guilt of the Left

THE pacifism which is such a dominant trait in the average Frenchman today was carefully nurtured by political parties and other organizations. And even during the critical months preceding the outbreak of the war it contained the elements of defeatism. I remember that my concierge, who had no particular political affiliation, was incensed at the idea that France should go to war if Hitler attacked Poland: "Why don't they give him Alsace-Lorraine? That's all he wants from us. We can do very well without it. It's not worth sacrificing hundreds of thousands of lives for." The pacifism of the Socialists was traditional. In 1914 Jaurès was murdered because he opposed the war. Early last September the friends of Léon Blum were afraid he might be assassinated by members of his own party because, though basically a pacifist, he had come to be a defender of *Realpolitik*, realizing that the fight against Nazism was inevitable. An overwhelming majority of the Socialists, though they did not always openly admit it, were followers of Paul Faure, who believed that war could be avoided if Hitler were given a free hand in Eastern Europe.

Faure was supported in his anti-war propaganda chiefly by those Socialist workers who had been employed for years in the war industries and who inundated the Socialist Party leaders with reports that France was not sufficiently prepared to go to war. The belief was widespread among these workers that France should

wait at least another two years. In that time, they were convinced, affairs in Europe would develop in such a way as to make French participation in a war altogether unnecessary. There would be, for instance, a clash between Hitler and Stalin.

Léon Jouhaux, leader of the trade unions with their five or six million members, also had strong pacifist leanings, but for different reasons. He feared the war might wipe out the social and economic gains of the workers. When I was in Le Havre I met a sergeant about forty years of age, the father of a family, a Socialist, and a trade-union secretary. He explained his point of view as follows: "Hitler could have been more easily defeated if France had had time to become the most highly industrialized country in the world and to attain the greatest social development. That would have made such a strong impression on the German masses that a revolution would have been inevitable. The war should never have started; now everything will go to pieces." He added that this was the general feeling among French trade unionists.

At the outbreak of the war Jouhaux and the trade unions were placed in an embarrassing position. The government threatened the dissolution of the unions and the arrest of their leaders unless all Communists were ousted. The Communists had two million members in the trade unions, where they held many of the key positions. In order to save his position Jouhaux was forced to repudiate his former convictions, at least outwardly, and to play the role of super-patriot. The Com-

munists were ousted, and Jouhaux gave Daladier assurances of his loyalty. The rank and file, however, who had been educated along pacifist lines, lost all orientation, and their interest in the trade-union movement slackened.

The anti-war propaganda of the Communists was much more aggressive than that of certain groups of the Socialist and Radical Socialist parties, but since the government and the public immediately clamped down on the Communists and imposed heavy penalties on them, the actual extent of their activity was considerably less than was commonly believed. Such influence as the Communists had is to be attributed to the fact that anti-war propaganda impressed the people whether it came from the right or the left. After the publication of the Russo-German pact the Communists lost hundreds of thousands of members, but even non-Communists found some of their anti-war arguments plausible. Many agreed with them that France should not have entered the war without having Russia as an ally. The Communist anti-war propaganda influenced particularly women in the larger cities; it did not penetrate into the countryside, which was pacifist anyway. In any event Daladier himself had to admit to the Army Commission of Parliament that no acts of sabotage were known to have been committed by Socialist or Communist workers, and that the General Staff had issued nothing but favorable reports about the behavior of Communists at the front.

Blatant pacifist propaganda was carried on by the Radical Socialist Party. This party, the cause of France's undoing, comprised all shades of appeasers, from open pro-Nazis like Bonnet to no less obvious defeatists like de Monzie, who from the very outset expressed his half-cynical, half-resigned conviction of the senselessness of the war. In a controlled Radical Socialist newspaper like *Oeuvre* the internal strife was clearly reflected, to the confusion of its readers, the editorials being full of peace rumors while on the third page Genevieve Tabouis wrote of the army's magnificent efforts.

The purely defensive conduct of the war served to confirm the pacifist and defeatist sentiments of the people. Practically every civilian with whom I came in contact during the war—tradesmen, mail carriers, railroad men, farmers—said the same thing: "This is no real war at all—merely a diplomatic squabble. It could have been settled without mobilizing millions and disorganizing the whole country."

The women were particularly bitter in voicing this opinion. If the war on the western front had become active in September—that is, if the French army had started a real offensive along the Moselle at that time—the prevailing pacifism would undoubtedly have vanished. But when nothing happened, the disorganization within the country grew, and along with it the general indifference and the desire to retrieve the men from this

seemingly senseless war. Even army officers shared this opinion, and one of our camp commanders\* used to say after reading the newspapers: "I don't understand this war. We don't attack, and Hitler doesn't, either. This is no war. We'd better go home and do something useful and let the diplomats play their own game."

The Ministry of Propaganda, that is to say the government itself, instilled in the masses the belief that there would be no real war in the west. During the whole of September newspapers and radio stations endeavored to prove that Germany was on the verge of disintegration as a result of the Soviet pact, and that Hitler's fall was due any day because his generals were plotting against him. When this plot did not materialize, reports were circulated designed to prove that Hitler's aggressive intentions would be confined to Eastern and Southeastern Europe. When in spite of all predictions to the contrary Hitler started war in the west in earnest, the anti-war feeling turned into complete bewilderment.

During the months of April and May hundreds of thousands of French soldiers were sent back to the countryside to resume their work in the fields. The population regarded this as proof that no hostilities were expected in the near future. Some of the older classes were demobilized altogether. The guard at our camp consisted largely of men who were to be demobilized just about the time that Hitler began his offensive. I can still see my friend Dumonier with the newspaper in his trembling hand, almost in tears, saying: "Do you understand it? It isn't possible. Do you remember the editorial in yesterday's paper by that military man saying that Hitler intended to march into Yugoslavia? Are they liars or criminals? Don't we have an Intelligence Service which should have known this beforehand? We are certainly getting a rotten deal." Dumonier and the other guards were of course not sent back to their farms but instead were speedily dispatched to the front. They belonged to an age class which had fought in the World War, had been called to the colors in December, and then had served as coast guard in Le Havre. They had not handled a gun since 1918, and they were equipped with rifles of the vintage of 1866, for which no ammunition was available. These were among the troops supposed to defend northern France against the invading German tanks. I doubt whether Dumonier and his comrades were able to accomplish much once they got to the front. Apart from the fact that they were inadequately trained and poorly equipped, their morale was broken.

Hundreds of thousand of Dumoniers fell victim to their pacifist sentiments and to government propaganda encouraging these sentiments. In those May days when the offensive started they were already defeated. "Let us hope that a second Marne miracle will happen," my

\* Heinz Pol was confined in various internment camps during the war.



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camp commander said to me when I bade him goodbye, but his smile was skeptical and sad.

Expectation of another miracle like the Marne contributed materially to the state of disintegration which existed in France. In many cases, the lack of organization amounted almost to sabotage. Unwillingness to stand up to the task was matched only by the inability to get results. It is no doubt a tremendous undertaking to reorganize the economic and social life of a nation in time of war, but the blunders of the French military authorities and civilian administration are too grave to be excused. Not a single problem was handled with even a semblance of efficiency, beginning with the antiquated system of mobilization and ending with the conscription of aliens for war service.

France did not mobilize by age classes but according to previous military training. Thus men in their thirties who had been trained as gunners or pilots were called up before younger men without special training. This meant that managers and executives of industrial, commercial, and agricultural enterprises were taken while their employees often were spared. The result was economic paralysis, since many of the drafted executives closed their businesses during the first days of the war and dismissed their employees, or gave way to younger substitutes without sufficient experience. Thus the war began with an unprecedented business depression—numerous liquidations and countless layoffs. Much bad blood, moreover, was created when older men were forced to go to war while the streets were full of civilians between twenty and thirty. Later there was a flood of denunciations and complaints, particularly over the question of "specialists" furloughed by the War Ministry upon application for work behind the front. So great grew the scandal around these *affectés spéciaux*, that the ministry was forced to institute a special commission of inquiry to hunt them down with the help of the military police and send a few thousand of them back to the front. There was no uniform plan for the utilization of specialized personnel. The War Ministry, the Ministry of Finance, and the Ministry of Labor, each worked out its own plans, which were constantly subject to change and extension. Thus it was often impossible to ascertain whether the individual in question was a slacker or someone capable of performing more valuable work behind the front than at the front itself.

In this matter as well as in that of organizing aliens it was above all the Minister of Labor, Pomaret, who failed miserably. He ground out decrees incessantly, only to supersede them by new ones. The law concerning the mobilization of aliens, inspired by Pomaret, was proclaimed at the beginning of January, 1940. It provided that all aliens living in France were liable for a certain kind of military or civilian auxiliary service unless they

were citizens of non-belligerent countries or had a definitely recognized refugee status. Hundreds of thousands were liable for this service but were not called up. These masses of men might have filled vital gaps in the war industries or in work on the fortifications so urgently needed in northern France, the type of work assigned to the comparatively small number of aliens that were finally drafted into the so-called *prestation* service.

However, up to the time of Hitler's invasion of the Low Countries in May all that had been accomplished was the transference of a few thousand interned German and Austrian refugees who had volunteered for this work from one camp to another, where they waited for things to happen. One of our guards at the Cepoy camp was frank enough to say with



Léon Jouhaux

a shrug: "Evidently the only purpose of the *prestation* law is to prevent you from running loose on the streets. The best thing for you would be for you all to disappear from France as quickly as possible."

The same confusion prevailed in the matter of relief for soldiers' families. At the city halls the women stood waiting in vain for payment of their allowances. On one occasion it would be instructions from above that had failed to arrive; another time there was insufficient clerical help at the city hall; a third time new regulations were about to be enacted. In some parts of the country months passed before the women got the first subsidy payment, to which they were entitled by law. This did not help to maintain morale behind the front.

Most indignant of all, and with full justification, were the people—women, children, and older men—who at the beginning of the war had been evacuated from the danger zones. More than a million persons were involved, all of whom had been transported to central France. Though this evacuation had been provided for in the plans of the General Staff for years, practically no preparations had been made to house and somehow employ these masses. Women and children were simply herded into barns and stables without beds or even blankets. The prefects of the various departments were helpless and blamed Paris. When the complaints and the situation of the *évacués* got out of hand, the government appointed Chaumemps, one of the most enthusiastic appeasers, Commissioner for French Refugees. Chaumemps let the matter rest after a tour of inspection, a few

speeches, and a shrug of his shoulders. In the course of our transfer from Camp Bengy to Camp Cepoy we encountered a few Alsatian soldiers at a junction. They had visited on furlough their evacuated families in central France and were now going back to the front. They trembled with indignation at the neglect of the central and local authorities, and their comments were of a nature to delight the heart of Herr Goebbels. They gave unrestrained vent to their anger in German and merely laughed at us when we asked them to speak French.

The conflicts between the various ministries, authorities, and bureaus were endless. Daladier's strong-man role was purely a pose. Actually he was too weak even to make his will prevail in the Council. There was incessant guerrilla warfare, particularly between the War Ministry and the Ministry of the Interior, aggravated by the fact that the police, which was subject to the authority of the Ministry of the Interior, was engaged in a violent quarrel with the Sûreté Nationale, likewise under that Ministry. All the decrees of the Sûreté Nationale, particularly those directed against "enemies of the state," were sabotaged by the police and vice-versa. The two branches were in agreement on only one subject—opposition to any degree or regulation emanating from the War Ministry. It was because of this internal strife that

Fritz Thyssen, the man who helped Hitler's Germany to rearm, who has hated France all his life, was able to take his walks in Paris carefully protected by the police, despite the contrary orders of the War Ministry.

It is impossible to say whether Reynaud could finally have succeeded in undoing all the damage done to France by Daladier, Bonnet, Sarraut, Chautemps, Pomaret, La Chambre, Berthoin, Flandin, Chiappe, Laval, Déat, de la Rocque, Doriot, and hundreds of others. Undoubtedly he had the will, and he was also aware of the forces which were destroying the country. That is exactly why his way was blocked for so long, just as all the articles by Henry de Kerillis in *l'Epoque* exposing the real traitors and saboteurs were censored. It was only under Reynaud that Kerillis was able to write freely again. But then it was too late. The country had been undermined and disorganized. And at the end the great miracle for which so many had hoped failed to take place. That miracle should have come in September, and it should have consisted of a purge of the entire state machinery. In the spring of 1940 the game was lost even before Hitler struck. I am afraid that Berlin was much better informed about all this than Paris ever was.

[The first part of this article, on the role of the right in the French defeat, was published last week.]

## Heil Edward Windsor!

BY LADISLAS FARAGO

MORE than three years after Edward VIII stepped down from the throne of England millions of Germans know nothing about that historic affair beyond the bare fact of the abdication. The romantic role of Mrs. Simpson, Edward's spirited fight with Baldwin, Churchill's chivalrous intervention, and the circumstances of the ex-King's hurried departure during a foggy night were never told in the German press or on the Nazi air. The very climax of those hectic December days was granted only two hazy paragraphs by Dr. Goebbels, and even these were well hidden on inside pages of German newspapers. This shows how tightly the press is controlled in a totalitarian country, but, much more important, it shows that the Nazis considered the whole incident an annoying hitch in one of their carefully prepared plans for the New Europe.

Now, writing for the Chicago *Daily News*, M. W. Fodor revives the Nazis' forgotten scheme. He reveals that the "idea of an England dominated by the Nazis, with the present Duke of Windsor as its puppet king, was conceived in German minds even before Edward's abdication and is one of the things Germany will try to

do if Britain is finally defeated." Fodor attributes the Duke's willingness to play the Nazis' game to the influence of his wife, who, in turn, had come under the spell of Foreign Minister Joachim von Ribbentrop while she was the attractive Mrs. Simpson.

Fodor errs in but two details. First, it was not Ribbentrop but a handsome counselor of the German embassy in London who influenced Mrs. Simpson. Second, the Duke's pro-Nazi orientation was his own doing—with Mrs. Simpson and her friends simply poking the fire. These are important details if we are to understand the rumors that now link the Duke's name with Hitler's plans for a vanquished Britain. The Germans make no secret of these plans. One of those "usually well-informed Nazi sources" whose job is to plant strange diplomatic indiscretions in the minds of gullible foreign correspondents even revealed that Hitler had already picked the city of Münster for Anglo-German peace negotiations and for the proclamation of Edward's return to the Nazi-protected throne of Britain.

Behind the floating rumors, journalistic plants, and society gossip stands the fact that Edward, Duke of



The Duke of Windsor

technique rather than program which stimulated his imagination. Fleet Street possessed evidence that during one of those hectic audiences at which Mr. Baldwin urged him to shelve Mrs. Simpson, Edward surprised his Prime Minister by saying: "I have the youth of Britain solidly behind me. With such a backing I could easily establish a dictatorship in England!" The bewildered expression in Baldwin's eyes made Edward beat a hasty retreat. He assured the Prime Minister that he thought of it only as a potentiality, with no intention of actually making use of his chances.

It is easy to trace the course of Edward's drift toward Hitlerism. It began on March 8, 1936, in the wake of Hitler's march into the demilitarized Rhineland zone. Edward had then been king for less than three months, but he was already hard at work trying to rule *de facto* as well as *de jure*. Foreign Office attachés were making the rounds in Whitehall with complaints that "the King is rapidly making a nuisance of himself by calling government departments on the phone, issuing baffling instructions, and asking silly questions." His favorite target was the Foreign Office, whose chimerical policy—a fictitious collective security based on the League Covenant—was not to his liking. In the Rhineland incident he maintained that Hitler was fully justified in righting a wrong of the Versailles treaty.

Only one country offered effective opposition to Edward's view, the Soviet Union, a newcomer to the League of Nations but already exercising considerable influence at Geneva. Litvinov was determined to sway the League to action against Germany, even to the extent of a punitive expedition of Franco-British-Russian forces to drive Hitler back from the Rhine. Litvinov's stand whipped Edward to action. He had inherited his father's dogmatic hatred of the Soviet Union, and he perceived in Nazi Germany the most opportune force to counterbalance Russia's increasing influence. He resolved to stop Litvinov at all costs.

At first he tried to enlist Anthony Eden's services for

Windsor, is actually amenable to such suggestions. Even while he was on the throne he toyed with the idea of setting up a "dictatorship of English youth," a conception born in his restless and impulsive mind. In the summer of 1936 he suddenly discarded all precautions and openly expressed his admiration of Hitler, though it was the Führer's

this campaign, but the Under Secretary refused to obey his king, and so Edward went about it practically alone. For a while he thought of going to Geneva and trying to boss the League on the spot. He was talked out of this unprecedented move, which would have exposed him to furious international attack and domestic criticism. Instead, he invited the Council of the League of Nations to meet in London, and placed St. James's Palace at the disposal of the extraordinary session. He believed that with the League meeting just around the corner from Buckingham Palace he would be able to destroy Litvinov's influence while strengthening his own. Pulling all the strings, cold-shouldering nervous Frenchmen who craved action, and isolating Litvinov, King Edward succeeded in putting over his plan. The idea of "compelling Germany to withdraw its troops by progressive sanctions" was dropped after Edward urged his government to "restore confidence by negotiation if it is humanly possible." Confidence was restored by leaving Hitler in the Rhineland and thus starting him on his course of expansion.

It was at this session of the League that Britain, by the grace of a prejudiced, blundering, improvising king, missed the bus. When Flandin saw the King of England acting as Hitler's agent, he too switched to the Nazi camp. The now traditional Anglo-Russian rift deepened after Litvinov's setback in London. The Soviet Commissar was frankly furious, and his anger was aggravated when, at an audience in Buckingham Palace, Edward turned to him with the blunt question: "Tell me, M. Litvinov, why was it necessary to murder so many good Russians in 1917-18?" Litvinov did not know what to answer, but after the audience he described the King as an "ill-informed young man who reads but one newspaper." Obviously, he meant the *Times* of London.

It was not naivete which induced Edward to pose this tactless question. He was anxious to tell Tovarisch Litvinov where his sympathies were. At the same audience he ostentatiously favored the German delegates with a long friendly conversation. Edward thus served notice on the world that he was working on the creation of an Anglo-German bloc against the Soviet Union.

Because the hullabaloo of his abdication obscured the issues which had actually caused it, it has long been forgotten that Edward was Britain's first and foremost appeaser. The first serious clash between the King and his Cabinet occurred over appeasement, when in July, 1936, in the midst of a modest Baldwinian attempt at rearmament, Edward began preaching peace to a military audience. Next came a trip to the eastern Mediterranean, apparently to take Mrs. Simpson for a yacht ride, but in reality to recruit new members for the Anglo-German bloc. Edward was already deep in a succession of improvised political conversations with Yugoslav, Turkish, and Greek statesmen when his Foreign Office received



the first word of this latest royal excursion into foreign politics. Unable to recall the King, London resorted to the extreme measure of sabotaging its ruler's political efforts. Sir Percy Loraine, then British ambassador to Turkey, quite frankly told President Kemal Ataturk not to take Edward's overtures seriously.

After these embarrassing experiences, the Cabinet did whatever it could to keep Edward out of foreign affairs. But now he turned to social questions and caused even greater embarrassments, until Baldwin decided to remove him on the pretext of his intention to marry Mrs. Simpson.

After his abdication the Duke of Windsor began parading his pro-German leanings. He went to Germany to "study labor conditions" in a country where the foreman's whip had replaced free trade unions. He permitted himself to be photographed giving the Nazi salute. After his meeting with Hitler at Berchtesgaden he told friends that his long-distance admiration of the German Führer had obtained its final confirmation. The two men became friends—a friendship which not even the war between Germany and England could disrupt.

From the outbreak of the war the Duke played an ambiguous role highly embarrassing to the British government. He maintained all his connections with Anglo-French appeasers and began consulting members of "the Link," a pro-Nazi group of highly placed Britons. When inspired rumors about his imminent return to the throne began cropping up, the government requested him to make a statement to refute such gossip. The Duke, however, failed to oblige. En route from France he has spent weeks in fascist Spain and has allowed himself to be dined and wined by leading Falangists.

During the abdication crisis Winston Churchill was Edward's best friend; it was Churchill who wrote the famous "the woman I love" speech for him. Today the British Prime Minister leads the British people in rejecting the Duke's ambitions. It seems that Edward refuses to recognize the awkwardness of his position as a Hitler stooge. He again thinks in terms of "my people," when in reality he has no perceptible following in Britain. Compton Mackenzie, the writer, tried to start a "popular movement reclaiming our King from the politicians," but his efforts wound up in a pathetic little royalist group called the Octavians. Their functions are confined to occasional meetings, when they toast "the King Across the Water."

However, German agents aided by certain British fascist elements have tried to cause a disintegration of British unity by using the name of Edward as a bait. Attempts have been made to carry this "movement" into the barracks, to the flying fields, and to warships, but only an Italian propaganda sheet has reported any success thus far. With what is left of his popularity rapidly fading and his aims genuinely distrusted, Edward, Duke

of Windsor, still refuses to deny that he has anything to do with those who are preparing the ground for Britain's "fascist counter-revolution." It is clear that he will have to lean on Hitler if he really cherishes royal ambitions.

## Memo to W. W.

BY MCALISTER COLEMAN

SOME of the Willkie-for-President boys was setting around on the cracker boxes that have been put out on the landing dock of the yacht club up here in Vineyard Haven for the duration of your campaign, when the question of your publicity came up.

One time or another I've been in on some pretty slick political publicity—from the outside looking in, it is true, but watching the wheels go round just the same—and I ventured a few suggestions which made such a hit that the boys asked me to send them on to you. I realize that this is in the nature of suggesting a rate raise to a holding company, but maybe here is a thought or two you can pass on to Russ Davenport or Bruce Barton.

It goes without saying that you will throw away your comb and brush before you start whirlwinding. That "tousled-hair-tycoon" stuff is tops for *Time* and the tabs. Of course you will get yourself a mess of Palm Beach suits and have the hotel valet unpress them for you. Some of the hotels you will make on your tour have a special service for knee-bulging the pants of candidates. Don't neglect the matter of shoes. The photographers like to crawl around on the floor nowadays to get those trick shots of the expansive feet of the candidate. So before you ride out on the "crusade," as you so aptly called it, have the new shoes patched up or half-soled.

I'm not so sure about the cigarettes in the picture. Of course That Man smokes them, but he hasn't been worried about the Kansas vote since '36, and you can't take chances. Don't you think a pipe would go better? One of those he-man, comfy old briars that you could light up when the camera men come in. Just the way T. R. down at Oyster Bay used to hurry out on the front lawn with an ax and chop away at a property tree when the photographers came around.

No doubt you're homeying up your vocabulary. Bear down on that Midwest talk. "It sure is a pretty day." "The President has been acting up like he was a dictator." "Between you and I, folks." But shucks, you know the line.

It's good news you sweat easy. Keep the old pores open. The people like to see their candidate out there sweating, and whenever the speech about giving us back our lost freedom begins to bog down a little, you can always save the day by taking time off to mop up, with a jocular remark about how hot you get just thinking about the way That Man has been pushing us all around.

The Elwood, Indiana, home-town, high-school background for the acceptance speech was a good hunch—almost as good as the Hoover Ioway build-up, and that reminds me, how do you rate as a fisherman? Got to do something about fishing, you know. Folks like pictures of their men tromping around in hip boots.

In view of the fact that there's a heap o' corn-huskin', milkin', an' hawg-callin' ahead, have the press gang play that hog farm of yours to the limit. But don't ever let on that it's lighted with juice from the Rural Electrification Administration.

This brings up the whole question of the Administration's "brutal" treatment of the electrical industry. How are you going to square up your hate of the TVA with Brother McNary's enthusiasm for Bonneville and the other big dams in the Northwest? Let's hope you boys get together early in the game on this. As it is, Brother Charles doesn't sound any too happy about being drafted as your running-mate. Somehow billion-dollar holding companies are not what you might call popular in Oregon, or a lot of other states for that matter; but no doubt if you explain to the Senator how your Commonwealth and Southern is just a great-hearted, altruistic outfit, altogether different from the others, it will put some pep into the old gentleman.

This holding-company hurdle is going to take some fast foot work, but judging from the way you handled yourself at Philadelphia, you have the stuff for it. There's certainly no call for anyone on your side to sound off about the relations between J. P. Morgan's United super-holding company and the C. and S., and the fact that you recently were elected a director of Brother Morgan's pet bank can always be laughed off as just one of those things. You can always talk quick about how you were all set to reduce rates in the South when along came that persecuting TVA and stole your thunder. Although the *Saturday Evening Post* has been running your ruination story for the past three years, there must be a lot of the folks who haven't heard yet how the government destroyed your initiative and whittled down your company's profits to a pitiful \$13,711,071 for the twelve months up to last May 31. What if last year's gross revenues were \$146,109,345 as compared with \$134,105,583 in 1938? Think of what they could have been if it hadn't been for the Gestapo of the SEC and the other bureaucratic bumpers-around.

It was smart of you to send word to the Fat Boys to hole in during the Philadelphia convention, even though it distressed Anne O'Hare McCormick of the *New York Times* to see trusted Old Guard contributors listening to broadcasts from the convention hall in the smoke-hung hotel boiler-rooms. Don't let them out until after Election Day. Then, if everything goes well, they can kick around the Wagner Act, the SEC, and the rest to their hearts' content.

## In the Wind

THERE WON'T BE any major opposition to the defense program from labor. C. I. O. as well as A. F. of L. leaders have accepted posts on Sidney Hillman's defense committee. While John L. Lewis will continue his war against the White House, he will not oppose the President's armament plans.

RIGHT-WING CATHOLIC groups led by Edward Lodge Curran, one of Coughlin's supporters, started a drive against P.M. almost the day it was born. The *Brooklyn Tablet* has denounced it, and newsdealers are being urged not to handle it.

RADICALS AND MANY non-political refugees are finding it impossible to get visas for admission to the United States. But, apparently without difficulty, John Makkai, Nazi supporter of the Hungarian government and author of the anti-Jewish law in Hungary, arrived here by the last Italian boat.

NOTE ON OUR TIMES: The Associated Press wire recently carried this Houston, Texas, dispatch: "The Harris County grand jury today no-billed Jack Roach, Houston automobile dealer, charged with murder without malice in the target-practice slaying of Oliver Paynes, Negro ranch hand. Paynes was wounded fatally while balancing a cup atop his head, as a target for his employer's pistol fire. Roach, who shot from a sitting position on a bed, said someone on the bed moved, throwing off his aim."

THE BOSTON Committee for Music Appreciation recently began a drive to distribute low-cost symphony records. No Boston paper would publish any news about the drive or accept any of its advertising.

A MAJOR UNSOLVED mystery in labor circles is what will happen to J. Warren Madden, chairman of the NLRB, whose term expires in August. Most observers think that the chairman's post is more important than the Smith amendments, but nobody, not even Mr. Madden, knows whether he will be reappointed.

ALTHOUGH IT doesn't get much publicity, the campaign against Harold Rugg's textbooks is still going on. The next place in which Rugg's books will probably be banned is Southampton, Long Island; the movement is already quietly under way.

THE OLEAN (New York) *Times-Herald* recently ran a story reporting a gift of \$5,000 from American Communists to German Communists to help them to "fight the Nazi regime." The headline ran: "Communists in U. S. Aid Nazis."

[We invite our readers to submit material for *In the Wind*—either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of \$5 will be awarded each month for the best item.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

# BOOKS and the ARTS

## Goliath in Business

*TOO BIG.* By Morris L. Ernst. Little, Brown and Company. \$2.75.

**L**IVING in a land where nature and man have both wrought on so huge a scale, Americans are apt to be overimpressed by mere size. We boast the biggest trees, the greatest waterfalls, the highest buildings, the largest cities, and the wealthiest corporations and tend to confuse size with excellence. Yet we also share in the almost universal delight when David knocks out Goliath. There should therefore be a wide audience for this book, which dissects some of our overgrown institutions and shows that, like Goliath, they are not only anti-social but inefficient.

Morris Ernst has not written just another denunciation of the evils of big business. Nor has he wasted breath on the immorality of big business men, whom he sees as the victims often of their own delusions of grandeur, struggling with a task too big for any one man. Moreover, he is equally concerned about the perils of big government, although he regards the concentration of political power as the inevitable outcome of the concentration of economic power. Both developments, he thinks, must be thwarted if democracy is to survive, for both impose too great responsibility upon the few, too little upon the many. In this connection he makes an acute observation:

When institutions or organizations exceed in size the capacity of men to manage them effectively, dictatorship of varying degrees or types comes into existence. Man's capacity is limited, and when he assumes too much power over markets, workers, or citizens he is ever in danger of being unable to cope with the vast domain which he is called upon to rule. When that happens, the boss or ruler becomes ultra-sensitive to criticism, and eventually demands the suppression of his critics.

The anemia resulting from too rapid and too great growth is well illustrated in the chapter which Mr. Ernst devotes to the story of the National Cordage Company, one of the earliest and shortest-lived of the great trusts. This combine was launched in 1887 by the merger of four of the largest firms in the trade, all of them financially sound and flourishing. At first it sought to prosper by cutting costs, but soon its directors began to feel the urge toward monopoly and set out to corner the market in raw hemp, to control the manufacture of cordage machinery, and to buy up competitors. This quickly involved them in Wall Street financing, the watering of their stock, the purchase of rival mills at inflated prices, and within six years, in a stupendous crash.

In the history of the last fifty years there are plenty of other examples of industrial mammoths which have bogged down through their own weight. Other giants have survived but have proved relatively inefficient, even in terms of profits, compared with smaller and nimbler competitors. Mr. Ernst throws an interesting light on the sterility which afflicted United States Steel during the long years of Gary's manage-

ment—an example of industrial bureaucracy at its worst. Red tape is supposed to be the badge of the government official, but it is equally symbolic of the Gargantuan business. Nowhere can this be better observed than in the operations of the handful of savings banks and insurance companies which handle so large a proportion of the nation's investment funds. By way of contrast this book includes an interesting analysis of Lloyds of London, an organization of individuals with every member accepting unlimited liability and contributing a specialized knowledge of some class of risks, for the underwriting of which he provides leadership.

In advocating curbs for bigness Mr. Ernst does not suggest that we reduce all our Brobdingnagians to Lilliputians. He wishes rather to discover what is the social and economic optimum for different economic and political institutions, recognizing that the most efficient automobile manufacturer will require a vastly greater capital than the most efficient pin-maker. There is no space here to review his practical proposals, but I should like to draw attention to his plan for using taxation as a regulator of corporate growth. Taxation for social ends is very unpopular among American business men. They will be reminded by this book that it originated with Alexander Hamilton, who thought that agriculture was flourishing at the expense of industry and deliberately used the tariff to promote the growth of manufactures.

KEITH HUTCHISON

## Who Was the More Surprised?

*THE ART OF MODERN WARFARE.* By Hermann Foertsch, Colonel of the German General Staff. With an Introduction by Major George Fielding Eliot. Veritas Press. \$2.75.

**T**HIS book was written shortly before the outbreak of the present war, and its translation was not completed until after the hostilities had begun. Both the publisher and Major Eliot imply that it voices official German military doctrine, with which Colonel Foertsch was of course extremely familiar by reason of his military position, and there is no valid reason to deny it. With this in mind, the conclusion at which one inevitably arrives from reading the book is that, far from having foreseen the course of events long in advance, the Germans must have been almost as much surprised as their opponents at the rapidity and ease of their conquest of France.

The whole book is permeated with the belief that future conflicts would largely pattern themselves after the western-front campaigns of 1914-18—that is, they would be position, or trench, wars in which attrition, or gradual exhaustion, would be decisive. In substantiation, it will be sufficient to quote from the section entitled *The Features of a Modern Battle*, which Major Eliot for some reason considers "a handy guide to the following of current operations." "The fighting, therefore, will not result in such quick and dramatic suc-



cesses as we remember in the Wars of Liberation and Unification. The battles of the World War already showed the beginnings of this new development, which in the future will be characterized even more by the long continuation and intensity of the fighting. The belief that the motorization and mechanization of weapons will again make quick decisions possible seems a fallacy. . . ." "Battles that result in a clean-cut, complete decision will also be scarce. The fighting will not end suddenly." "Victory and defeat have largely lost their meaning as concepts associated with battle."

These quotations might be continued at considerable length, and they all lead to one conclusion: in September, 1939, Colonel Foertsch and, by implication, the German High Command did not have any real confidence in the *Blitzkrieg*, or short decisive war. One may assume that the Germans were as surprised by their own victories as, under different circumstances, they were unprepared for their unexpectedly rapid advance in the spring offensive of 1918. The difference, however, is plain, for this time the Germans were ready to exploit any possible break-through to its fullest extent, and did so with crushing thoroughness.

For the rest, the book is based firmly upon Clausewitz. Ever since the first cholera epidemic carried off the author of "On War" more than a century ago, his volumes have been the fount of revealed truth for military men of all nations. Today, however, it is becoming increasingly plain that a drastic reevaluation of Clausewitz is in order, and "The Art of Modern Warfare" adds strength to this view. To give but one example, when Clausewitz expounded on the nation in arms, training and a musket sufficed to produce a soldier. Procurement of man-power was the real problem. In our time the state has so increased its authority and organization that the mere signing of a draft law will produce unlimited reserves of man-power. The problem now is how to arm them with the new complex and expensive weapons, and to give them sufficient training to use these weapons efficiently, without completely destroying the nation's economic and social existence. Colonel Foertsch does not appear to comprehend this difficulty, and while he admits that General von Seeckt's small-army theories—the only real solution—are "difficult to refute," he continues to maintain with Clausewitz that the massing of men will decide the issue.

Nevertheless, this book should be read as a historical document by everyone interested in war, for it gives an accurate picture of the state of military thought as it existed in all nations in September, 1939. Indeed, such is the reluctance of the military mind to abandon preconceived notions that "The Art of Modern Warfare" in all probability continues to represent General Staff opinion in nations, like the United States, which did not actually experience the revelation in Flanders and France. The book is especially designed for the uninitiated in military matters. It is remarkably undogmatic, its theme is logically developed, and preliminary definitions are clearly and plainly set out. Finally, those who tremble for America's military future may find some comfort in Colonel Foertsch's repeated statement that "there are few states—perhaps only Russia and the United States—which have at their disposal all the elements of modern warfare. No other states are economically independent for purposes of war."

HARVEY S. FORD

## Inside Mexico

MEXICO REBORN. By Verna Carleton Millan. Houghton Mifflin Company. \$3.

VERNA MILLAN'S portrait of a nation in travail is not, as she believes it to be, Mexico from the inside, for a phenomenon as complex and ramified as the Cárdenas revolution cannot be reduced to any single series of arithmetical equations. It is the work of a novelist, rather than a reporter, and it will serve to give Mexico life and body for a reading public which has become impatient with polemics and suspicious of moral denunciation.

Mrs. Millan has lived for six years in her adopted country as the wife of a young Mexican cancer specialist. She has been a music critic, a newspaperwoman, and an active participant in the turbulent left-wing movements of the Cárdenas era. Her book fuses autobiography with the broader, tectonic forces of revolution and national reconstruction, and it does so successfully. When Verna Millan writes of the many things which she has seen and experienced, she writes excellently, with rich metaphor, passion, and impersonal malice. She analyzes the pervasive sycophancy, the meretricious sexual *mores*, and the deep-seated inferiority complex of the Mexican middle class with a candor that is excusable in view of her obvious love for the country and its people. Six years of Mexico have not inured her to the awful poverty of the people or blunted her faith in the chaotic Mexican Revolution, which is at last achieving constructive form.

The most valuable sections of "Mexico Reborn" deal with the Indian village of Santa Maria Tepeji in the eroded Otomí Indian region, the pathos of the Mexico City food markets and the squalor of workers' housing, the marriage customs of Huicholes, Tarahumaras, and creole Catholics, and the dawning feminist movement of Mexico. The concluding chapter, which treats of bureaucracy in medicine, will seem unbelievable to the hordes of star-gazers that view Mexico as the New Jerusalem and ineptly confuse promise with fulfilment. The record of reckless incompetence and corruption in the Mexican medical profession is, as Verna Millan points out, alleviated by the work of a small band of idealistic doctors.

Verna Millan went to La Laguna, the vast collectivized cotton region, with President Cárdenas to write sardonically of the festering bureaucracy which surrounds the Chief Executive and enthusiastically of an emerging free rural society. The Millans have had the heart-breaking experience of combating a stultifying and corrupt bureaucracy which professes allegiance to "the revolution" as a means of political survival, but their Mexican perspective is too broad for them to fall into the nihilist attitude of the upper class that no progress is possible in the country.

If Verna Millan can write excellently about what she has seen, she deals in naive fashion with those things that have come to her second hand. The chapters on the Obregón and Calles periods, on petroleum expropriation, on Marxists versus Fascists, and on the 1940 presidential elections are marred by regurgitations of historical analysis shaped by the Communist Party in the pre-Ribbentrop epoch. Verna Millan has the obnoxious habit of calling those things she dislikes fascist (the Red Shirt movement, Argentina, Costa Rica, and

Chile in 1937); she accuses General Obregón of "political deviations" during a military campaign which occurred four years before the overthrow of Russian czarism. Her political world is peopled by the archangels of the Popular Front, the Lucifer of German Nazism, and the cohorts of the "confused," the "deviators," and the "demagogues." She indorses the extraordinary view that the decision to introduce "socialist education" in Mexico in 1934 was an instance of demagoguery more harmful "than all the sabotage of its enemies" on the ground that "Mexican education . . . never can be socialistic unless the entire social system is changed radically." (Logically, the view that the socialist economy is necessarily prior to socialist education would imply the obvious falsehood that the achievement of socialism is an unconscious historical process.)

Verna Millan achieves the difficult feat of being unfair to the oil companies. She suggests that they should have heeded the warning of imminent expropriation contained in Lombardo Toledano's February 22 speech, forgetting that at the time their case was still pending before the Mexican Supreme Court. On page 241 she says: "Cedillo rose at last . . . with German aid and helped by the oil companies." But on page 253: "The Mexican government *claimed* to have proofs that the oil companies had backed Cedillo, but it was an ineffective aid *at best*." From the fact that the Mexican fascist movement has supported the candidacy of General Almazán, Mrs. Millan infers that if the oil companies "aid him [Almazán] to win, Mexico's oil will go to Germany."

Mrs. Millan is right in her fundamental knowledge of the psychology and living conditions of the people; she is wrong

in a few of her facts, and—I believe—in several of her political conclusions. These political issues are sometimes of passing interest, and one can go elsewhere for more thorough and objective treatment. Despite its defects, "Mexico Reborn" is the work of a writer who should make an important contribution to American letters. NATHANIEL WEYL

## Someone to Talk to

*THE HEART IS A LONELY HUNTER.* By Carson McCullers. Houghton Mifflin Company. \$2.50.

AROUND the pivotal character of John Singer, a deaf-mute, and around the theme of man's vital craving for a sympathetic, understanding confidant, Miss McCullers drapes the rather loosely woven texture of her novel, a book flavored with compassion and a gentle melancholy but never with despair. Living in a small Southern town—which, however, has no marked sectional characteristics except its Negro quarter—Singer enjoys for a while the companionship of the town's only other deaf-mute, a burly, stupid, sensual Greek; but after the latter has been committed to a mental hospital, Singer, through no effort of his own, is adopted, as it were, by four widely different people who have in common only their sense of their own incompleteness and the world's wrongs, and their need for someone to whom they can pour out their hearts. Each of the four receives some spiritual solace from this release, and the kindly, mild-tempered mute is too much apart from ordinary men to be contaminated by contact with the poison of their discontent as long as he can occasionally visit the asylum and "talk" to his friend Antonopolous. Only when Antonopolous dies does Singer feel utterly, irrevocably alone, and the impact of the calamity overwhelms him.

While Miss McCullers harps perhaps a little too persistently on the one plaintive string of her theme, she leaves several of her people hauntingly engraved in the reader's memory; and she displays a most praiseworthy frankness and lack of affectation. The acuteness of character-perception revealed is quite remarkable in an author who, according to the jacket, is a girl of twenty-two. LOUIS B. SALOMON

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## The Collective Bargain

*THE COLLECTIVE LABOR AGREEMENT.* By Elias Lieberman. Harper and Brothers. \$3.

THIS book was as inevitable and necessary at this stage of labor development as Noah Webster's dictionary at one point in the development of the English language. With collective bargaining now an established institution of no mean dimensions in American life, ever more lawyers, trade unionists, business executives, teachers, and students are interested in such questions as how unions and employers decide upon discharge, or administer paid vacations, or provide for health and safety, or adjust stoppages and lockouts. Just such questions, listed with almost definitive completeness, compose the core of Mr. Lieberman's book. To each question Mr. Lieberman supplies an answer in the form of a statement of the "law" applicable to the subject, followed by multiple

citation of clauses abstracted from more than 130 collective agreements, covering all the major and many minor unions.

The author brings to this little encyclopedia the knowledge derived from many years of actual practice in negotiating and drafting collective agreements as counsel for the garment workers, milliners, jewelers, furniture workers, pocketbook workers, and other unions. That Mr. Lieberman is writing from the "inside" becomes abundantly clear in his novel chapter on how to negotiate.

In the introductory chapters of the book, which form a sort of preface, the author contributes a fresh approach to the development of labor law—from "suppression" to "tolerance" to "respect." In this last stage the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, in the case of *Schlesinger vs. Quinto*, set the precedent which made collective employer-employee settlements no longer just "gentlemen's agreements" but legally binding contracts, enforceable in the courts. When this is true—as it began to be in the 1920's—the exact formulation of the clauses in a labor agreement becomes important. Mr. Lieberman's book summarizes admirably the status attained by labor in the United States through the collective agreement.

AUGUST TYLER

## Critique of Santayana

**THE MORAL PHILOSOPHY OF GEORGE SANTAYANA.** By Milton Karl Munitz. Columbia University Press. \$1.75.

MR. MUNITZ'S book is the first critical study of Santayana in book form that is worthy of consideration from a philosophical point of view, for the book published last year is useful only for the biographical and literary information it contains. It is a pity therefore that Mr. Munitz confined himself solely to the study of Santayana's moral philosophy. It is true that he chose the most important aspect of Santayana's thought, and that the task of analyzing "The Realms of Being" would be as unrewarding as it would be unpleasant. And yet it would be important to know in precisely what way the rhetorical effusions and the hyperborean posturings of the later period are prefigured in the earlier.

Mr. Munitz is in deep sympathy with the naturalistic, Aristotelian element in Santayana, from which spring what he takes to be Santayana's penetrating vision and sanity. This strain he finds in conflict with the other-worldly, Platonic element. The thesis thus baldly formulated is not new. But what constitutes a contribution is the thorough analysis by means of which it is conclusively demonstrated. The reviewer rejects much more of Santayana's moral philosophy than Mr. Munitz does and regrets that the latter did not feel the need to analyze terms which for Santayana are basic, such as "harmony," "happiness," or "reason." Examination of these terms would have revealed to him, I am convinced, that the foundation of Santayana's moral philosophy, with which Mr. Munitz is essentially in sympathy, is far less adequate than he at present realizes. But it is one thing to have a hunch and another to demonstrate it. Mr. Munitz has established his thesis beyond refutation. And he has made a significant contribution to the proper assessment of one of the best-known thinkers of our day.

ELISEO VIVAS



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## IN BRIEF

**A LION IN THE GARDEN.** By G. B. Stern. The Macmillan Company. \$2.50.

A sunny, whimsical novel about an everyday little Englishman whose underfed soul was awakened by the sudden and fateful appearance of an escaped circus lion; he calmly "invigled" the creature into his kitchen, locked it in, and was never quite the same afterward. Unless you insist on brooding without interruption these days, pack this pleasant bit of gossamer in your week-end bag.

**THE LIFE OF A PAINTER.** By Sir John Lavery, R. A. Little, Brown, and Company. \$4.50.

After the manner of famous Irishmen, this fashionable academician is quite frank about the surface details of his rise to fame from almost sordid beginnings. He writes interestingly about all sorts of people from Queen Victoria to Shirley Temple, especially so about Whistler and his friends G. B. S. and Cunningham Graham. The volume contains seventy illustrations.

**"MR. SECRETARY."** By Ben Ames Williams, Jr. The Macmillan Company. \$2.50.

This is an imaginary but well-documented autobiography of Stanton, Secretary of War under Lincoln and Johnson. It pretends to be a confession of Stanton's deliberate efforts to delay the end of the war in order to insure more complete subjugation of the South, and of his complicity in the assassination of Lincoln. The book is a *tour de force* which does not quite come off.

**LESTER F. WARD: THE AMERICAN ARISTOTLE.** A Summary and Interpretation of his Sociology by Samuel Chugerman. Duke University Press. \$5.

Lester F. Ward was one of the pioneers of modern sociology. His evolutionary meliorism, humanistic conception of science, and strong interest in the emancipation of women and workingmen exercised some influence upon liberal thought in pre-war American culture. A critical study of the man and his ideas, their relation to the times, how they stand up in the light of contemporary science and social doctrine, has long been past due. It is still past due. With the best will in the world toward Ward and with all respect for

Mr. Chugerman's piety, this book must be regarded as pitifully inadequate to its subject. Its summaries of Ward's ideas are dreary restatements of passages from Ward's own writings which, despite their lumbering prose, are easier reading than Mr. Chugerman's digests of them. The ideas themselves are fulsomely praised, inadequately presented, and not discussed. Lester Ward may deserve the title of the American Aristotle, not so much for his subtlety as for his breadth of knowledge, but the strongest impression the reader will carry away from this book is that Ward was America's greatest bore. That Mr. Chugerman's amorphous work should be sponsored by an imposing list of names and published as a scholarly contribution by the press of an American university is an intellectual scandal and a disservice to Ward's memory.

## RECORDS

**BEETHOVEN'S** less frequently heard Fourth and Eighth Symphonies are among his most treasurable achievements, and Toscanini accomplishes nothing finer than his performances of them. Victor's set of the Fourth (M-676, \$8), which Toscanini made with the B. B. C. Symphony, is therefore one of the outstanding releases of the year; and the wonderful qualities of music and performance are not obscured by slight blemishes in recording: a little reverberation, a comparative weakness of treble that sometimes keeps woodwinds from being heard clearly, an occasional slight stridency in the sound of the violins, a grittiness in the sound of the last inch of the Scherzo side.

What I dislike in Brahms's symphonic writing—the straining for large-scale utterance by a man with nothing large-scale to say—is worst in his earliest attempts, and worst of all, possibly, in the first movement of the Piano Concerto No. 1, which has been newly recorded by Schnabel with the London Philharmonic under Szell (M-677, \$12). Some of the music Schnabel phrases superbly; but at times he strains, too; and sometimes the straining is that of a not all-encompassing technique. And this is a work in which I am grateful for the matter-of-factness, the smoothness and ease that I recall in Bachaus's earlier performance. Szell provides an excellent orchestral framework; but the recording gives the effect of piano too near the microphone and

orchestra too far away; there is considerable rattle from overcutting; and in my set there are a couple of sides with off-center wavering in pitch.

The Primrose Quartet's performance of Smetana's "From My Life" at its Town Hall concert was as overexcited as the one it has recorded for Victor (M-675, \$7); and this resulted in rough, scratchy tone, but not in the particular loud, coarse sounds that are produced by the records, and that must be attributed to a recording job as bad as any of the Columbia quartet jobs I complained of recently. Certainly the Columbia set of "From My Life" is the one to acquire.

Tschaikovsky wrote superb ballet music; and Constant Lambert has recorded a performance of "The Sleeping Beauty" (M-673, \$5) that makes one wish he conducted for the Ballet Russe. Where the fine opening slow movement of Handel's Sonata No. 6 (16450, \$2) calls for sustained, large-span phrasing, Menuhin chops it up with an accent on every beat; and in the rest of the work he offers mere fiddling without a suspicion of phrasing or style. On a moderately enjoyable single disc (12831, \$1.50) Jussi Björling again reveals a fine voice and good musical taste in Schubert's "An die Leier," Alfven's "The Forest Is Sleeping," and Cklof's patriotic "Morning." The ubiquitous Intermezzo and Alla Marcia from Sibelius's "Karelia" Suite are well recorded by the London Philharmonic under Goehr (12830, \$1.50); the Drinking Song from Act I of "La Traviata" and the Finale of Act II are poorly sung by Anna Rosza and Alessandro Ziliani with the La Scala Orchestra and Chorus under Sabajno (12832, \$1.50).

The Beecham recording of Haydn's Symphony No. 104, which I referred to recently in connection with the Edwin Fischer set, has been issued by Columbia, but has not yet reached me. What I have received is Columbia's recording of Prokofiev's "Classical" Symphony (X-166, \$4.50), in which Mitropoulos again has the Minneapolis Symphony exploding in all directions for no reason that I can hear in the music. The present-day recording allows one to hear details clearly that are dim or obscured on the old Victor records of Koussevitzky's performance with the Boston Symphony; but even on these records one can hear the qualities—the lightness, elasticity, radiance—of the Koussevitzky performance that is another wonder of the age. **B. H. HAGGIN**

# Letters to the Editors

## Youth and Liberty

*Dear Sirs:* It is appalling to find Raymond Gram Swing, in his recent article *Youth, War, and Freedom*, assuming that young people may turn to fascism because they do not sufficiently value personal liberty, the heritage of our fathers.

I can understand how our fathers fought for personal liberty in an economy where the fruits of liberty were material. I can also understand how to the young economic security seems more important, for youth must eat and youth would marry. But I cannot understand how a planned economy must carry with it the idea of a ban on personal liberty. Granting that a planned economy without personal liberty is in store for Europe—and I don't think that it is—what is to prevent us Americans from entering into socialism, with the expectancy of both security and personal liberty? Why should we wait for fascism to take over at the breakdown of capitalism? Peace and the sense of personal validity, the loss of which Mr. Swing gives as the cause of the failure of young people to treasure their immediate heritage, would return in due course under an intelligently planned economy. There would be no conflicts of security with personal liberty.

Oldsters, who have a death grip on the credit of this country and are promoting an economy of scarcity from a profit motive, might do well to look within for the causes of the so-called shortcomings of youth. C. F. ELLIS  
Houston, Tex., July 2

## Hoard Food, Not Gold

*Dear Sirs:* In a capable and provocative article on South American trade in your issue of June 15, Charles E. Noyes proposed several methods of increasing our trade with South America, confessed their difficulty, and suggested that possibly "a more painless plan can be devised." This challenge proved a good bait. I should like to suggest a supporting method and policy.

The present European food situation is very grave. Not only are food reserves low, but many states, including Germany itself, are on a deficiency diet. The Russian crops on which Germany

counted are so greatly below expectations that conditions approaching famine are foreseen in certain Russian districts. America is Europe's only hope in its terrible struggle against famine and pestilence. The nation or nations which can secure control of the vast food surpluses of the Western Hemisphere will be the dictators of the next peace, provided, of course, they can build up a sufficiently powerful home defense. By withholding food America will be able to extinguish the Nazi and Fascist regimes like guttering candles.

The United States has a hoard of thirty billion dollars' worth of gold, 80 per cent of the world's supply. We cannot eat it or wear it. If Hitler wins we may not be able to spend it anywhere outside the United States. It would not be difficult for the conqueror of the French and British empires and the Belgian and Dutch colonial possessions, the inheritor of India's wealth, the master of three hundred million European wage serfs, to set up *another basis than gold* for world trade. If he did so, the United States would be left "holding the bag." Why not pass at once legislation permitting a certain portion of the *gold reserve* to be converted into much more mobile and undeflatable wealth—*food and raw-material reserves*. Let us buy up every ounce of South America's surplus grains, fats, hides, and meat. Let us sufficiently process such of these as are perishable—meat, for instance—and store them, for barter later with the totalitarians, who will have to come to us or starve.

We are the only nation in the world that can offer cash to South American countries for their exportable surpluses. This cash will greatly stimulate our trade with them and inspire their continued loyalty to a good neighbor. South Americans have no illusions about the future of their liberties if Germany controls their economic life. If we let this opportunity slip, if we permit South America, out of sheer desperation, to enter Germany's custom and barter union while we, like stupid misers, nurse our hoard of useless gold, we shall be the laughing stock of history.

LEWIS A. RILEY

New York, June 26

## The Gestapo in Denmark

*Dear Sirs:* In a dispatch to the *New York Times* from Copenhagen, Sven Carstensen reported recently that the civil life of the country is in local hands with few signs of German military rule. At the same time he admitted that "censorship has been established." The German émigré paper *Neuer Vorwärts*, which was printed regularly in Paris before the invasion of France, gave a more detailed story of the German occupation of Denmark.

This paper said that German soldiers stand guard before the King's palace in Copenhagen, and the Danes think with suppressed bitterness of their traditional friendship with Norway. To prevent any expression of discontent is the job of the German Gestapo, which followed on the heels of the German troops of occupation. German émigrés and even Danish citizens who were arrested at the time of the invasion have not yet been released in spite of many protests from the still functioning Danish government.

The Gestapo has prohibited all public meetings. Listening to foreign broadcasting stations is forbidden. Telephone, telegraph, and mail services are all under Gestapo control. Records of all unions have been confiscated. In all newspaper offices sit German commissars. Press and radio are permitted to use only German sources of news. Movies show only German films. German commissars have been added to all branches of the Danish civil administration. These commissars supervise confiscation and rationing. One of their first measures was to introduce into Denmark the German plan of utilization of all refuse. They have confiscated the Danish oil supply of 250,000 tons and discontinued all gasoline-driven trains. They have cut rail traffic, and permit only such automobile traffic as they consider necessary.

At the head of all the German commissars in Denmark stands the one-time German ambassador to that country, Herr von Renthe-Finck, who has been elevated by Hitler to this special rank. He possesses today about the same powers as von Neurath in Prague.

E. POLLE

East Windsor Hill, Conn., June 15

## What Mr. Luce Believes

*Dear Sirs:* Your reference to me in the column *In the Wind* in your June 22 issue is inaccurate.

My trip to Europe this spring did not "drastically alter" my view of things. If anything, it only confirmed views which I have held for many years.

Secondly, I have never told anyone that I wish Mr. Roosevelt to run again or that I will support him.

I am opposed to a third term on principle. I do not believe a third term is necessary. I do believe it is vitally important to achieve now the maximum degree of national unity in armament and in foreign policy.

HENRY R. LUCE

New York, June 25

[*In the Wind* received its information from a usually trustworthy *Time* employee. We'll check more carefully next time.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

## In Re "the Irresponsibles"

*Dear Sirs:* Being a woman, my lot is to be practical. Mr. MacLeish's article was beautifully written and a just indictment of some writers and scholars. But there is a large and distinguished list of intellectuals who have fought valiantly in organizations designed to defend culture. There were the pro-Loyalist Spanish committees; the various anti-Hitler committees, of which I founded the first in 1933, the same month Adolf Hitler took power—five hundred writers and scholars joined it in two weeks; the League of American Writers; the Hollywood Anti-Nazi League; and the Motion Picture Artists' Committee.

And quite apart from these, a number of facts tend to show where else the blame may be laid for what MacLeish feels is the failure of American intellectuals as a whole. May I cite a few?

1. One of the greatest and most exciting plans designed to show what fascist countries do to culture, and what the rebels against Nazism can achieve by united action, was to have been expressed in the Pavilion of Freedom at the World's Fair of 1939. Your own magazine told of the disaster that befell this plan, and it was not brought about by writers or scholars.

2. Might one not call the Federal Theater Project a culture-defending institution? Its betrayal was likewise not brought about by intellectuals. Indeed, they rallied widely to its defense.

3. Many well-known scholars have

lost their positions because of their liberal activities.

4. There have come to my attention recently a number of brilliant books by scholars and writers of repute for which no publisher can be found. The sum of the publishers' reasons is: We dare not. Dr. X wrote a book on how fascism comes in agriculture; and just now, as I write, I hear on the radio that the Associated Farmers of California have organized to fight "fifth-column activities and subversive trends in the fields." The American Legion has also now girded itself to "protect" us from fifth-column activities. Dr. X's book warns against these dangers. It can find no publisher.

I think we must probe deeper than did Mr. MacLeish to find why many writers and scholars have not fought more ardently for learning and culture.

ELLA WINTER

Carmel, Cal., June 1

## Guard the Home Front!

*Dear Sirs:* As a Kansan I was interested in your indorsement of William Allen White's plan to solve the problem of our relationship to the war in Europe with unreserved material assistance to the Allies. Let me say that any criticism of your or Mr. White's action comes from one who dreads as much as either of you the consequences—for Europe—of a German victory, but who is nevertheless perplexed as to whether the means you have chosen will not aggravate rather than alleviate the harm.

War is the one thing in which you invariably land something entirely different from what you aimed at. Perhaps Hitler *can* ingest all of Europe; does that mean that he can digest it? Perhaps a Hitler forced to digest France will be the best thing for Germany, and possibly in the long run for Europe. How, with political bosses entrenched in all of Europe's satrapies, could a Europe ever be united except through bloodshed? The bosses will not yield, and they delude their followers into fighting.

I still believe, as you do, that a Hitlerized Europe will be a bad thing; but the complex possibilities of the war make me feel that such an outcome will not be sufficiently worse than the opposite result to justify our upsetting our own economy, sacrificing the social reforms that we have won so dearly, in order to change it.

Perhaps we can serve Europe better by conserving our strength to make things right at home, so that after the

war, or after the social upheaval that must follow upon the war whatever its result, the seeds of democracy that we have kept here unspoiled may be transplanted over there. What I dread most is what will happen behind our backs while our gaze is fixed on Europe.

DWIGHT L. BOLINGER

Topeka, Kan., June 20

## CONTRIBUTORS

HEINZ POL, a German émigré journalist, has just arrived in the United States from France. His analysis of the causes of France's collapse is based on wide acquaintance with officials, journalists, and army officers.

LADISLAS FARAGO as foreign editor of the London *Sunday Chronicle* maintained close connections with the British government throughout the crisis that resulted in Edward VIII's abdication.

McALISTER COLEMAN, a journalist with long experience in left-wing politics, contributed an article on Wendell Willkie in *The Nation's* series on Men Who Would Be President.

HARVEY S. FORD, secretary of the American Military Institute in Washington, wrote on *Generals Without Ideas* in last week's *Nation*. For many years he has been a student of the art of war.

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**CORRECTION.**—In Talbot Hamlin's letter published on June 29 the transposition of two lines strangely distorted the author's meaning. The sentence should have read, "Detachment gives the power of criticism; criticism checks the rabble-rousers, the would-be Führers, the insensate exploitation of human life, etc."

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